

# THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

The Document Received and Read in Both Houses of the National Legislature.

A State Paper Which is Remarkable for Its Simplicity of Language—Opens With a Reference to the Death of Mr. McKinley—Anarchy Declared to Be a Crime Against the Whole Human Race—Evils of Trusts Largely Due to Misconception—The Constitution Antiquated and in Need of Amendment—Reciprocity Should Be Indulged Only Where American Interests Cannot Suffer—The Isthmian Canal Should Be Constructed and Safeguarded by the United States Alone.

Wealth was not struck at when the President was assassinated, but the honest toil which is content with moderate gains after a lifetime of unremitting labor, largely in the service of the public. Anarchy is a crime against the whole human race, and all mankind should band against the anarchist. The first essential in determining how to deal with the great industrial combinations is knowledge of the facts—publicity.

I regard it as necessary to re-enact immediately the law excluding Chinese laborers. The National Government should demand the highest quality of service from its employees; and in return it should be a good employer.

For the District of Columbia a good factory law should be passed; and, as a powerful, indirect aid for such laws, provision should be made to turn the inhabited alleys, the existence of which is a reproach to our Capital City, into minor streets, where the inhabitants can live under conditions favorable to health and morals. Nothing could be more unwise than to disturb the business interests of the country by any general tariff change at this time.

Reciprocity must be treated as the handmaiden of protection. The American merchant marine should be restored to the ocean. The railway is a public servant. Its rates should be just to and open to all shippers alike. The preservation of our forests is an imperative business necessity.

\* \* \* To the beautiful Queen of the Antilles, as she unfolds the new page of her destiny, we extend our heartiest greetings and good wishes.

We hope to make our administration of the Philippines honorable to our nation by making it of the highest benefit to the Filipinos themselves.

I call your attention most earnestly to the crying need of a cable to Hawaii and the Philippines. No single great material work which remains to be undertaken on this continent is of such consequence to the American people as the building of a canal across the Isthmus.

We do not wish to see any Old World military power grow up on this continent, or to be compelled to become a military power ourselves. So far from being in any way a provocation to war, an adequate and highly trained navy is the best guarantee against war, the cheapest and most effective peace insurance.

In the Philippines, Cuba, and Porto Rico the army has proved itself a great constructive force, a most potent implement for the upbuilding of peaceful civilization. I recommend the passage of a law which will extend the classified service to the District of Columbia.

## THE MESSAGE.

### Eloquent Reference to the Death of the President's Predecessor.

The President's message was sent to Congress yesterday. It is remarkable for its simplicity of language. Opening with a simple reference to the death of the late President, Mr. Roosevelt goes on to detail the circumstances under which Mr. McKinley met his death at the Pan-American Exposition. The most eloquent passage in this portion of his message is the following:

#### The Dead President.

"The shock, the grief of the country, are bitter in the minds of all who saw the dark days while the President yet hovered between life and death. At last the light was still in the kindly eyes and the breath went from the lips that gave to mortal agony uttered no words save of forgiveness to his murderer, of love for his friends, and of unflinching trust in the will of the Most High. Such a death, crowning the glory of such a life, leaves us with infinite sorrow, but with such pride in what he had accomplished and in his own personal character, that we feel the blow not as struck at him, but as struck at the nation. We mourn a good and great President who is dead; but while we mourn we are lifted up by the splendid achievements of his life and the grand heroism with which he met his death."

#### The Treatment of Anarchy.

The President then passes on to the consideration of anarchy in all its forms and the possible legislative treatment of a phase of criminality so indubitably base. He says:

"The anarchist, and especially the anarchist in the United States, is merely one type of criminal, more dangerous than any other because he represents the same depravity in a greater degree. The man who advocates anarchy directly or indirectly, in any shape or fashion, or the man who apologizes for anarchists and their deeds, makes himself morally accessory to murder before the fact. The anarchist is a criminal whose perverted instincts lead him to prefer confusion and chaos to the most beneficent form of social order. His protest of concern for workmen in outrageous pay is merely a ploy; for if the political institutions of this country do not afford opportunity to every honest and intelligent son of toil, then the door of hope is forever closed against him. The anarchist is everywhere, not merely the enemy of system and of progress, but the deadly foe of liberty. If ever anarchy is triumphant, its triumph will last for but one moment, to be succeeded for ages by the gloomy night of despotism."

#### The Anarchist is a Murderer.

"For the anarchist him—whether he preaches or practices his crimes, we need not have one particle more concern than for any ordinary murderer. He is not the victim of social or political injustice. There are no wrongs to remedy in his case. The cause of his evil inclinations is to be found in his own evil passions and in the evil conduct of those who urge him on, not in any failure by others or by the State to do justice to him or his. He is a malefactor and nothing else. He is in no sense, in no shape or way, a 'product of social conditions,' save as a highwayman is 'produced' by the fact that an unarmed man happens to have a purse. It is a travesty upon the great and holy names of liberty and freedom to permit them to be invoked in such a cause. No man or body of men preaching anarchistic doctrines should be allowed at large any more than if preaching the murder of some specified private individual. Anarchism is a crime against the whole human race, and all mankind should band against the anarchist."

#### The Anarchist is a Murderer.

"For the anarchist him—whether he preaches or practices his crimes, we need not have one particle more concern than for any ordinary murderer. He is not the victim of social or political injustice. There are no wrongs to remedy in his case. The cause of his evil inclinations is to be found in his own evil passions and in the evil conduct of those who urge him on, not in any failure by others or by the State to do justice to him or his. He is a malefactor and nothing else. He is in no sense, in no shape or way, a 'product of social conditions,' save as a highwayman is 'produced' by the fact that an unarmed man happens to have a purse. It is a travesty upon the great and holy names of liberty and freedom to permit them to be invoked in such a cause. No man or body of men preaching anarchistic doctrines should be allowed at large any more than if preaching the murder of some specified private individual. Anarchism is a crime against the whole human race, and all mankind should band against the anarchist."

### No Anarchist Should Be Admitted.

"I earnestly recommend to the Congress that in the exercise of its wise discretion it should take into consideration the coming to this country of anarchists or persons professing principles hostile to all government and justifying the murder of those placed in authority. Such individuals as these who not long ago gathered in open meeting to glorify the murder of King Humbert of Italy perpetrate a crime, and the law should ensure their rigorous punishment. They and those like them should be kept out of this country; and if found here they should be promptly deported to the country whence they came; and far-reaching provision should be made for the punishment of those who stay. No matter calls more urgently for the wisest thought of the Congress."

#### Protect the President.

"The Federal courts should be given jurisdiction over any man who kills or attempts to kill the President or any man who by the Constitution or by law is in line of succession for the Presidency, while the punishment for an unsuccessful attempt should be proportioned to the enormity of the offense against our institutions."

#### Anarchy is a Crime Against the Whole Human Race.

"Anarchy is a crime against the whole human race; and all mankind should band against the anarchist. His crime should be made an offense against the law of nations, like piracy and that form of man-stealing known as the slave trade; for it is of far blacker infamy than either. It should be no declared by treaties among all civilized powers. Such treaties would give to the Federal Government the power of dealing with the crime."

#### Saved From the People.

"A grim commentary upon the folly of the anarchist position was afforded by the attitude of the law toward this very criminal who had just taken the life of the President. The people would have torn him limb from limb if it had not been that the law he defied was at once invoked in his behalf. So far from his deed being committed on behalf of the people against the Government, the Government was obliged to take to him its full police power to save him from instant death at the hands of the people."

#### Fear Will Not Restrain a Strong President.

"No man will ever be restrained from becoming President by fear as to his personal safety. If the risk to the President's life became great, it would mean that the office would more and more come to be filled by men of a spirit which would make them resolute and merciless in dealing with every friend of disorder. This great country will not fall into anarchy, and if anarchists should ever become a serious menace to its institutions, they would not merely be stamped out, but would involve in their own ruin every active, passive sympathizer with their doctrines. The American people are slow to wrath, but when their wrath is once kindled it burns like a consuming flame."

#### A Bounteous Prosperity.

"Passing on to the commercial position of the United States among the nations, the President said: 'During the last five years business confidence has been restored, and the nation is to be congratulated because of its present abounding prosperity. Such prosperity can never be created by law alone, although it is easy enough to destroy it by mischievous laws. If the hand of the Lord is heavy upon any country, if flood or drought comes, human wisdom is powerless to avert the calamity. Fundamentally the welfare of each citizen, and therefore the welfare of the aggregate of citizens which makes the nation, must rest upon individual thrift and energy, resolution and intelligence. Nothing can take the place of this individual capacity; but wise legislation and honest and intelligent administration can give it the fullest scope, the largest opportunity to work to good effect.'

### The Need of Honesty.

"It is no limitation upon property rights or freedom of contract to require that when men receive from Government the privilege of doing business under corporate form, which frees them from individual responsibility, and enables them to call into their hands the capital of the public, they shall do so upon absolute truthfulness representations as to the value of the property in which the capital is to be invested."

#### The Tremendous and Highly Complex Industrial Development.

"The tremendous and highly complex industrial development which went on with ever accelerated rapidity during the latter half of the nineteenth century brings us face to face, at the beginning of the twentieth, with very serious social problems. The old laws, and the old customs which had almost the binding force of law, were once quite sufficient to regulate the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Since the industrial changes which have so enormously increased the productive power of mankind they are no longer sufficient."

#### The Rich Man and the Poor.

"The creation of great corporate fortunes has not been due to the tariff, nor to any other governmental action, but to natural causes in the business world, operating in other countries as they operate in our own."

#### The Process Has Aroused Much Antagonism.

"The process has aroused much antagonism, a great part of which is wholly without warrant. It is not true that as the rich have grown richer the poor have grown poorer. On the contrary, never before has the average man, the wage worker, the farmer, the small trader, been so well off as in this country and at the present time."

#### There Have Been Abuses Connected With the Accumulation of Wealth.

"There have been abuses connected with the accumulation of wealth; yet it remains true that a fortune accumulated by legitimate business can be accumulated by the person specially benefited only on condition of conferring immense incidental benefits upon others. Successful enterprise, of the type which benefits all mankind, can only exist if the conditions are such as to offer great prizes as the rewards of success."

#### The Trusts.

"The mechanism of modern business is so delicate that extreme care must be taken not to interfere with it in a spirit of rashness or ignorance. Many of those who have made it their vocation to denounce the great industrial combinations which are popularly, although with technical inaccuracy, known as 'trusts,' appeal especially to hatred and fear. 'In facing new industrial conditions, the whole history of the world shows that legislation will generally be both unwise and ineffective unless undertaken after calm equity and with sober self-restraint. Much of the legislation directed at the trusts would have been exceedingly mischievous had it not also been entirely ineffective.'

#### Legislation Must Be Wise.

"In accordance with a well known sociological law, the ignorant or reckless agitator has been therapeutically effective in dealing with the evils which he has been nominally opposing. In dealing with business interests, for the Government to undertake by crude and ill-considered legislation to do what may turn out to be bad, would be to incur the risk of such far-reaching national disaster that it would be preferable to undertake nothing at all."

#### The Evils of Trusts.

"It is true that there are real and grave evils, one of the chief being overcapitalization, because of its many baleful consequences; and a resolute and practical effort must be made to correct these evils. 'There is a widespread conviction in the minds of the American people that the great corporations known as trusts are in certain of their features and tendencies hurtful to the general welfare. This is based upon sincere conviction that combination and concentration should be prohibited, but supervised and within reasonable limits controlled; and in my judgment this conviction is right.'

### The Need of Honesty.

"It is no limitation upon property rights or freedom of contract to require that when men receive from Government the privilege of doing business under corporate form, which frees them from individual responsibility, and enables them to call into their hands the capital of the public, they shall do so upon absolute truthfulness representations as to the value of the property in which the capital is to be invested."

#### The Tremendous and Highly Complex Industrial Development.

"The tremendous and highly complex industrial development which went on with ever accelerated rapidity during the latter half of the nineteenth century brings us face to face, at the beginning of the twentieth, with very serious social problems. The old laws, and the old customs which had almost the binding force of law, were once quite sufficient to regulate the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Since the industrial changes which have so enormously increased the productive power of mankind they are no longer sufficient."

#### The Rich Man and the Poor.

"The creation of great corporate fortunes has not been due to the tariff, nor to any other governmental action, but to natural causes in the business world, operating in other countries as they operate in our own."

#### The Process Has Aroused Much Antagonism.

"The process has aroused much antagonism, a great part of which is wholly without warrant. It is not true that as the rich have grown richer the poor have grown poorer. On the contrary, never before has the average man, the wage worker, the farmer, the small trader, been so well off as in this country and at the present time."

#### There Have Been Abuses Connected With the Accumulation of Wealth.

"There have been abuses connected with the accumulation of wealth; yet it remains true that a fortune accumulated by legitimate business can be accumulated by the person specially benefited only on condition of conferring immense incidental benefits upon others. Successful enterprise, of the type which benefits all mankind, can only exist if the conditions are such as to offer great prizes as the rewards of success."

#### The Trusts.

"The mechanism of modern business is so delicate that extreme care must be taken not to interfere with it in a spirit of rashness or ignorance. Many of those who have made it their vocation to denounce the great industrial combinations which are popularly, although with technical inaccuracy, known as 'trusts,' appeal especially to hatred and fear. 'In facing new industrial conditions, the whole history of the world shows that legislation will generally be both unwise and ineffective unless undertaken after calm equity and with sober self-restraint. Much of the legislation directed at the trusts would have been exceedingly mischievous had it not also been entirely ineffective.'

#### Legislation Must Be Wise.

"In accordance with a well known sociological law, the ignorant or reckless agitator has been therapeutically effective in dealing with the evils which he has been nominally opposing. In dealing with business interests, for the Government to undertake by crude and ill-considered legislation to do what may turn out to be bad, would be to incur the risk of such far-reaching national disaster that it would be preferable to undertake nothing at all."

#### The Evils of Trusts.

"It is true that there are real and grave evils, one of the chief being overcapitalization, because of its many baleful consequences; and a resolute and practical effort must be made to correct these evils. 'There is a widespread conviction in the minds of the American people that the great corporations known as trusts are in certain of their features and tendencies hurtful to the general welfare. This is based upon sincere conviction that combination and concentration should be prohibited, but supervised and within reasonable limits controlled; and in my judgment this conviction is right.'

#### The Need of Honesty.

"It is no limitation upon property rights or freedom of contract to require that when men receive from Government the privilege of doing business under corporate form, which frees them from individual responsibility, and enables them to call into their hands the capital of the public, they shall do so upon absolute truthfulness representations as to the value of the property in which the capital is to be invested."

#### The Tremendous and Highly Complex Industrial Development.

"The tremendous and highly complex industrial development which went on with ever accelerated rapidity during the latter half of the nineteenth century brings us face to face, at the beginning of the twentieth, with very serious social problems. The old laws, and the old customs which had almost the binding force of law, were once quite sufficient to regulate the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Since the industrial changes which have so enormously increased the productive power of mankind they are no longer sufficient."

#### The Rich Man and the Poor.

"The creation of great corporate fortunes has not been due to the tariff, nor to any other governmental action, but to natural causes in the business world, operating in other countries as they operate in our own."

### The Wage Earners.

"With the sole exception of the farming interest, no one matter is of such vital moment to our whole people as the welfare of the wage workers. If the farmer and the wage-worker are well off, it is absolutely certain that all others will be well off, too."

"It is therefore a matter for hearty congratulation that on the whole wages are higher today in the United States than ever before in our history, and far higher than in any other country. The standard of living is also higher than ever before. Every effort of legislator and administrator should be bent to secure the permanency of this condition of things and its improvement wherever possible."

### Exclusion of Chinese Labor.

"Not only must our labor be protected by the tariff, but it should also be protected so far as it is possible from the presence in this country of any laborers brought over by contract, or of those who coming freely, yet represent a standard of living so depressed that they can unduly drag down the labor market and drag them to a lower level."

### Convict Labor.

"If possible legislation should be passed in connection with the interstate commerce law which will render effective the efforts of different States to do away with the competition of convict contract labor in the open labor market."

### The Eight-Hour Day.

"So far as practicable under the conditions of Government work, provision should be made to enforce the enforcement of the eight-hour law easy and certain. In all industries carried on directly or indirectly for the United States Government, where the workers should be protected from excessive hours of labor, from night work, and from work under unsanitary conditions."

### Washington's Streets.

"For the District of Columbia a good factory law should be passed, and, as a powerful indirect aid to such laws, provision should be made to turn the inhabited alleys, the existence of which is a reproach to our Capital City, into minor streets where the inhabitants can live under conditions favorable to health and morals."

### A Man's Strength Is in Himself.

"The chief factor in the success of each man—wage worker, farmer and capitalist alike—must ever be the sum total of his own individual qualities and abilities. Each man must work for himself, and unless he so works no outside help can avail him. To be permanently effective, aid must always take the form of helping a man to help himself, and we can all best help ourselves by joining together in the work that is of common interest to all."

### The Value of Union.

"Very great good has been and will be accomplished by associations or unions of wage workers, when managed with forethought, and when they combine insistently upon their own rights with law-abiding respect for the rights of others. The display of these qualities in such bodies is a duty to the nation no less than to the associations themselves. Finally, there must also in many cases be action by the Government in order to safeguard the rights and interests of all."

### Unsatutory Immigration Laws.

"Our present immigration laws are unsatisfactory. 'First, we should aim to exclude absolutely not only all persons who are known to be believers in anarchistic principles or members of anarchistic societies, but also all persons who are known to be members of unsavory organizations. 'The second object of a proper immigration law ought to be to secure by a careful and not merely a superficial educational test some intelligent capacity to appreciate American institutions and act sanely as American citizens. 'Finally, all persons should be excluded who are below a certain standard of economic fitness to enter our industrial field as competitors with American labor."

### The Tariff.

"There is general acquiescence in our present tariff system as a national policy. 'Nothing could be more unwise than to touch the business interests of the country by any general tariff change at this time. Doubt, apprehension, uncertainty are exactly what we most wish to avoid in the interest of our commercial and material well-being."

### Reciprocity in Trade.

"Reciprocity must be treated as the handmaiden of protection. Our first duty is to see that the protection granted by the tariff in every case where it is needed is maintained, and that reciprocity be sought so far as it can safely be done without injury to our home industries. Every application of our tariff policy to protect our shifting and changing needs must be conditioned upon the cardinal fact that the duties must never be reduced below the point that will cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad. The well-being of the wage-worker is a prime consideration of our entire policy of economic legislation."

### The Need of a Merchant Marine.

"The condition of the American merchant marine is such as to call for immediate remedial action by the Congress. It should be made advantageous to carry American goods in American-built ships."

### The Gold Standard.

"The act of March 14, 1899, intended unequivocally to establish gold as the standard money and to maintain at a parity therewith all forms of money medium in use with us, has been shown to be timely and judicious. The price of our Government bonds in the world's market, when compared with the price of similar obligations issued by other nations, is a flattering tribute to our public credit. This condition it is evidently desirable to maintain."

### The National Banking Law.

"In many respects the national banking law furnishes sufficient liberty for the proper exercise of the banking function; but there seems to be need of better safeguards against the pernicious influence of commercial crises and financial panics. Moreover, the currency of the country should be made responsive to the demands of our domestic trade and commerce."

### The National Surplus.

"The collections from duties on imports and internal taxes continue to exceed the ordinary expenditures of the Government, thereby tending to the reduced army expenditures."

### The Need of Economy.

"Only by avoidance of spending money on what is needless or unjustifiable can we legitimately keep our income to the point required to meet our needs that are genuine."

### The Control of Railways.

"Those who complain of the management of the railways allege that established rates are not maintained; that rebates and similar devices are habitually resorted to; that these preferences are usually in favor of the large shipper; that they drive out of business the smaller competitor; that while many rates are too low, many others are excessive, and that gross preferences are made, affecting both localities and commodities. Upon the other hand, the railways assert that the interstate commerce law, by its very terms, tends to produce many of these illegal practices by depriving carriers of that right of concerted action which would enable them to establish and maintain non-discriminating rates."

### The Act Should Be Amended.

"The act should be amended. Its rates should be just to and open to all shippers alike. The Government should see to it that within its jurisdiction this is so and should provide a speedy, inexpensive, and effective remedy to those who, at the same time, nothing could be more foolish than the enactment of legislation which would unnecessarily interfere with the development and operation of these commercial agencies."

### The Preservation of Forests.

"At present the protection of the forest reserves rests with the General Land Office, the mapping and description of their timber with the United States Geological Survey, and the preparation of plans for their conservative use with the Bureau of Forestry, which is also charged with the general advancement of practical forestry in the United States. These various functions should be united in the Bureau of Forestry, to which they properly belong. 'The President should have by law the power of transferring lands for use as forest reserves to the Department of Agriculture."

### The Importance of Irrigation.

"The forests are natural reservoirs. They cannot, however, fully regulate and conserve the waters of the arid regions. Great storage works are necessary to equalize the flow of streams and to save the flood waters. Their construction is properly a national function, at least in some of its features. 'The Government should construct and maintain these reservoirs, as it does other public works."

### Settlement of the Arid Lands.

"The reclamation and settlement of the arid lands will enrich every portion of our country. The products of irrigation will be consumed chiefly in upbuilding local centers of mining and other industries, which would otherwise tend to come into existence at all. Our people as a whole will profit, for successful homesteading is but another name for the upbuilding of the nation."

### The Recognition of Private Ownership.

"The recognition of private ownership, which has been permitted to grow up in the arid regions, should give way to a more enlightened and larger recognition of the rights of the public in the control and disposal of the public water supplies. Law founded upon conditions obtaining in humid regions, where water is too abundant to justify hoarding it, have no proper application in a dry country."

### Hawaii.

"We must develop the Territory on the traditional American lines. 'The island is thriving as never before, and it is being administered efficiently and honestly. We have given its people the right of free access for their products to the markets of the United States."

### Porto Rico.

"The island is thriving as never before, and it is being administered efficiently and honestly. We have given its people the right of free access for their products to the markets of the United States."

### Cuba.

"In Cuba such progress has been made toward putting the independent government of the island upon a firm footing that before the present session of the Congress closes the island will be a completed fact. In the case of Cuba there are weighty reasons of morality and of national interest why reciprocity should be held in reserve, not merely as a political expedient, but as a means of securing the wisdom, indeed to the vital need, of providing for a substantial reduction in the tariff duties on Cuban imports into the United States."

### The Philippines.

"Already a greater measure of material prosperity and of governmental honesty and efficiency has been attained in the Philippines than ever before in its history. We hope to do for the Philippines what we have never before done for any people of the tropics, to make them fit for self-government after the fashion of the really free nations."

### In Our Anxiety for the Welfare and Progress of the Philippines.

"In our anxiety for the welfare and progress of the Philippines it may be that here and there we have gone too rapidly in giving them local self-government. It is on this side that our error, if any, has been committed."

### There Are Still Troubles Ahead in the Islands.

"The insurrection has become an affair of local banditti and marauders, who are not merely a danger to the brigands of portions of the Old World. 'The time has come when there should be additional legislation for the Philippines. Nothing better can be done than to introduce industrial enterprises. It is necessary that the Congress should pass laws by which the resources of the islands can be developed so that franchises (for limited terms of years) can be granted to companies doing business in them, and every encouragement given to the incoming of business men of every kind."

### A Pacific Cable.

"I call your attention most earnestly to the crying need of a cable to Hawaii and the Philippines, to be continued from the Philippines to points in Asia. We should not defer a day longer than necessary the construction of such a cable. It is demanded not merely for commercial but for political and military considerations. 'Either the Congress should immediately provide for the construction of a Government cable or else an arrangement should be made by which like advantages to those accruing from a Government cable may be secured by the islands in connection with a private cable company."

### The Isthmian Canal.

"No single great material work which remains to be undertaken on this continent is of such consequence to the American people as the building of a canal across the Isthmus connecting North and South America. Its importance to the nation is by no means limited merely to its material effects upon our business prosperity; and yet with view to these effects alone it would be to the last degree important for us immediately to begin it."

### The Treaty With Britain.

"I am glad to be able to announce to you that our negotiations on this subject with Great Britain, conducted on both sides in a spirit of friendliness and mutual good will and respect, have resulted in my being able to sign before the Congress a treaty which if ratified will enable us to begin preparations for an Isthmian canal at any time, and which guarantees to this nation every right that it has ever asked in connection with the canal."

### In This Treaty, the Old Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, so long recognized as inadequate to supply the basis for the construction and maintenance of a necessarily American ship canal, is abrogated. It specifically provides that the United States alone shall do the work of building and assume the responsibility of safeguarding the canal and shall regulate its neutral use by all nations on terms of equality without discrimination or preference of any outside nation from any quarter."

### The Signed Treaty Will at Once Be Laid Before the Senate, and If Approved the Undesired Treaty It Secures us by Providing for the building of the canal.

### The Monroe Doctrine.

"The Monroe Doctrine should be the cardinal feature of the foreign policy of all the nations of the two Americas, as it is of the United States. The Monroe Doctrine is a declaration that there must be no territorial aggrandizement by any non-American Power at the expense of any American Power or American self. It is in no wise intended as hostile to any nation in the Old World. We do not guarantee any State against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American Power."

### The Navy.

"Even if our flag were hoisted down in the Philippines and Porto Rico, even if we decided not to build the Isthmian canal, we should need a thoroughly trained navy of adequate size, or else be prepared definitely and for all time to abandon the idea that our nation is among those whose sons go down to sea in ships. Unless our commerce is always to be carried in foreign bottoms, we must have war craft to protect it."

### Additional Ships.

"It is unsafe and unwise not to provide this year for several additional battleships and heavy armored cruisers, with auxiliary and lighter craft in proportion; for the exact numbers and character I refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Navy. 'But there is something we need even more than additional ships, and this is additional officers and men. To provide battleships and cruisers, and then leave them up, with the expectation of leaving them unmanned until they are needed in actual war, would be worse than folly; it would be a crime against the nation."</